4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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through which the animal is led. If the cow steps over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
302 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
*628 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
● 766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Pledge for Flocks + Shepherds in Nikaj + Gurraj, St. Johns Day, 1895]

[681]
[766] 3. Nobody may help to bury a murderer till three years have passed unless the master of the feud wishes. When somebody does help to bury him five purses must be paid to the master of the feud, either in money or in beasts, as may be arranged among themselves.

[628] 4. A murderer is never under a flock-and-shepherd guarantee until the murder has been avenged or the feud composed.

5. A cutter of pine slivers and a reaper with sickle are under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

6. A mower with scythe is under a pledge of safety.

7. A shooter is under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

8. The Ndermajë—Livath i Math (Great Meadow)—Shalë road and the Kodër Plak—Shalë road are under a pledge of safety for flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever steals small animals must pay 250 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

Whoever steals a cow or ox must pay 500 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

10. Whoever removes the tiles of a house must pay 500 grosh.

11. If a debtor does not meet his obligations he is to be accused before the head of his ward. If he still does not meet his obligations, he has no pledge of safety and may be robbed and killed until he enters the right path.

Guarantors: 3 tribes.

IX. Resolutions Made at Kashnjet, Mirditë, on August 17th, 1904.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 128.)

We, the tribe of Dibër, met for some business in General Assembly at Kashnjet and we have examined the business legally as required by God and the Canon of Mirditë.

1. Whoever murders one of his kin shall be expelled for fifteen years from the tribe, his land shall be left untilled and he shall pay a fine of 100 rams and an ox and have his house burned.

2. Whoever allows a man who has murdered one of his own kin to enter his house becomes as guilty as the murderer.

3. The kindred which does not take the lead against such culprits commits a fault against the whole tribe.

[Here follow the names of the leaders, headed by the bajraktar.]

In whatever business the tribe may have these people will take the lead of the whole tribe.

Witness:

Dom Ndue Melguzhi, Pepaj, parish priest of Kashnjet.